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RACE AND CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA

A Review Prepared for the
American Friends Service Committee

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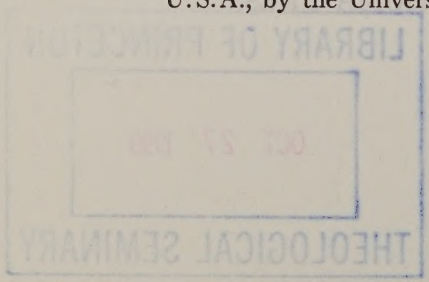

Foreword

FOR FORTY YEARS the American Friends Service Committee has labored with problems, domestic and world-wide, which stand between mankind and the achievement of brotherhood among individuals and nations. A considerable part of our recent effort has been exerted toward replacing segregation with freedom, equality, and mutual trust. This has been a natural extension of the historic Quaker concern for the welfare and rights of persons who face prejudice and discrimination. A Quaker belief that "there is that of God in every man" requires living up to the best in one's self and respecting "that of God" in others.

We Americans today proclaim to the world our abhorrence of tyranny and totalitarianism, while, in our own practice at home, we exhibit large-scale inhumanity to our fellow men. Every American is responsible for this, regardless of his religion, color, or race, and regardless of whether he is a Southerner or a Northerner.

Recognizing the critical period through which we are passing, the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee authorized a working party to study where we as a people stand in the matter of race relations, to inquire where we ought to be, and to propose methods of bridging the gap. The working party which conducted the study is alone responsible for the present pamphlet, which has been approved for publication by the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee.

Quakers and non-Quakers, Negro and white, have co-operated in this review of the situation. They came from widely separated areas. Their personal backgrounds were diverse, and their communities illustrated different aspects of the problem. They shared a deep belief in the relevance of religious conviction and moral standards to these issues. They

had faith in the vitality of American democracy. The working party realizes that all problems arising from intergroupal connections are related. But Negro-white relationships are analyzed here because our times and circumstances urgently require this emphasis.

We believe that a moment of decision has now come for each of us and for our nation. America can be the America of our hopes. But a world in revolution cannot wait. The American dream must become a reality, and rapidly.

The words of freedom, of brotherhood, and of faith have a common ring that surmount time, place, and authorship. That is perhaps the reason why the members of the working party found themselves, again and again, turning to "Lift Every Voice," the moving words of James Weldon Johnson. They are not "Negro words," however, any more than Magna Carta is purely British or the Declaration of Independence is only meant for Americans. "Lift Every Voice" describes the history and hunger of a nation, not just a single race. It reflects a spirit of hope and dedication which we trust, in turn, will be found in these pages.

*Lift Every Voice and Sing**

Lift ev'ry voice and sing,
Till earth and heaven ring
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.

Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has
taught us
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has
brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chast'ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,

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Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?

We have come over a way that with tears has been
watered
We have come, treading our path thru the blood
of the slaughtered,
Out of the gloomy past, till now we stand
at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by Thy might,
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.

Lest our feet stray from the places, our God
where we met Thee;
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the
world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever
stand,
True to our God, true to our native land.

The Working Party

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RACE AND CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA

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1. Questions That Face Us

LANDMARKS in the course of social change are identified by time and place. One such landmark was the decision handed down on May 17, 1954, by the United States Supreme Court on the subject of school integration. Uncertain progress and direction gave way to conviction and commitment when the nation's highest judicial body unanimously decreed that racially separate public schools were inherently unequal and, therefore, contrary to the constitutional provision that all citizens are guaranteed "equal protection of the laws." That day and that decision are landmarks in the history of our democracy. Since then and since the finalizing order promulgated one year later, much has happened, and more has been written and spoken. The optimists, pessimists, and the accusers of others have all had, and are having, their say.

The beliefs which led to the writing of this pamphlet are not dependent on the Court's decision. Long before May, 1954, many people knew that segregation and discrimination were wrong, even though the legal doctrine of "separate but equal" prevailed. Other kinds of discrimination are also wrong, although as yet they are not reached by federal law. But while the Supreme Court's decision is neither the sole nor the most fundamental ground for our position, it does provide the occasion for a direct appeal to reason and conscience. In allying the authority of the Constitution with the forces of reason and conscience, the Court has transformed the issues and raised it to a new level, the significance of which can neither be overestimated nor ignored.

To some, the Supreme Court's decision signaled the full emancipation of American Negroes; others see the decision as setting back good race relations at least thirty years. Some diagnose the South as struggling with a terrible ordeal: others see the South as suffering from a multitude

of fears and complexes. Still others offer the reminder that racially separate schools existed in several states outside the South at the time the Supreme Court spoke. Racial segregation, whether by law or custom and whether openly or subtly, is not restricted to any one geographic region.

There is some validity to all of these reactions. For the concerned, there is hope in the 1954 decision; and there is some breakdown in communication between the races in the deep South. One can see the psychological anguish within the South; and there is the sobering truth that the North's record will not permit it, without some hypocrisy, to point its finger southward.

The Supreme Court's opinions called for desegregation of the public schools with "deliberate speed." In the seventeen states which had biracial systems in 1954, 777 of their 3,700 school districts were desegregated or had begun desegregation within four years. In St. Louis, Louisville, Baltimore, and some smaller cities in West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas, the reorganization has been spectacularly successful; in other places—for example, Clinton, Tennessee—the change-over has made headlines. The tragic story of Little Rock is, of course, known to people all over the world. In many school districts no affirmative steps have yet been taken toward desegregation; and in five so-called hard-core states, public policy is pledged to maintain segregation, although Virginia is now showing the way with its uneventful acceptance of desegregation.

Following the Supreme Court decision, many private institutions for the first time opened their doors to all. The decision also stimulated church organizations to clarify their racial policies. It strengthened many persons to speak up for democracy, brotherhood, and tolerance. For the most part, judges of federal district courts and appeals courts upheld the law. Some white principals and teachers risked personal danger and social ostracism for themselves and their families; others resigned rather than be part of a segregated system which continued in spite of the law. Radio and television commentators, both local and network, have generally seen above and beyond the mobs. On many occasions white children have shown themselves quite willing to share their schools with Negro children.

Negro Americans are profoundly affected. Many see the Supreme Court decision and other changes for the better as inevitable for a nation that utilized their help to make the world "safe for democracy" in World War I, to defeat Hitler's racism in World War II, and to "contain commu-

nism" in Korea in 1950–53. After World War II many Negroes were no longer in a mood to accept less than full citizenship. They had taken seriously the pronouncements of the United States and its allies, they knew more about constitutional law and the Supreme Court, and they came to believe that segregated schools and restricted voting rights were most responsible for their second-class status. More than ever, Negroes recognized that, in citizenship matters, whatever is racially separate is always inferior.

But the new moves toward desegregation, and the later move for a federal civil rights law, found a countermove of bigotry resulting in vituperative attacks on the Supreme Court and the formation of White Citizens' Councils that called the Supreme Court justices Communists and demanded their impeachment. Local federal judges were also attacked. The White Citizens' Councils encouraged boycotts against Negro businessmen; they had Negroes active against segregation fired from their jobs; and they stimulated attacks and arson against Negro property—even churches. In several states White Citizens' Councils spearheaded campaigns to outlaw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the principal interracial organization which has been working for half a century to promote full citizenship for Negro Americans.

In Clay, Kentucky, Clinton, Tennessee, and in Little Rock, Arkansas, mobs prevented Negro children from attending schools to which they were assigned by the authorized school boards. They crowded the school grounds and threatened principals, teachers, and parents; they attacked friends of Negroes, burned crosses, and jostled and frightened the children. Some school boards resumed segregation; some Negro parents were forced to give up, for the time being, the right to send their children to better schools. Extremists, like John Kasper, outshouted most Southern voices in rousing mobs and whipping them into action.

State legislatures, whose rolls often include members of White Citizens' Councils, have passed a number of laws the purposes of which are: to render the Supreme Court decisions impotent; to abolish freedom of speech, assembly, and petition in regard to civil rights; to prevent lawyers from entering civil rights cases; to exile the NAACP from its states; and to bring to their knees individual Negroes who dare contend for equal protection of the laws.

These new laws do not affect Negroes alone. Like proscription and

persecution in Hitler's Germany, these laws are aimed at the weakest members of the body politic. But they will be applied to others, until whites as well as Negroes will be throttled, frightened, fined, jailed, and oppressed to the extent that their liberty and freedom will be both constricted and restricted. In other days, not long ago, men of other lands said, "It can't happen here," or, "It can't happen to me." But it happened, to their sorrow.

This antidemocratic climate has been one result of the Supreme Court decrees. The Court's liberalizing opinion has not yet put an end to all racial segregation, racial discrimination, or anti-Negro mob violence.

In the North discrimination shows itself most plainly in restrictions on housing and the right of the Negro to improve his living conditions by moving his family into any house which he can afford to buy or rent. Anti-Negro outbursts continue around Trumbull Park homes in Chicago. In Levittown, Pennsylvania, a Negro veteran saw his newly bought home stoned and its windows broken by a mob; a Negro civil servant in New York had to appeal to the courts in order to rent an apartment (built partly by government funds) which was refused him solely because of his race. Most new housing, and all housing in non-Negro neighborhoods, continues to be unavailable to Negroes.

The new national trend emphasized by the Supreme Court decisions has not broadly improved job opportunities, North or South. The pattern still persists of "white jobs" and "Negro jobs." There are positions for which Negroes are never hired, and there are employers who never hire Negroes. Several state and municipal fair-employment-practice laws have improved the situation, but the old pattern persists in most areas of employment.

The exercise of the right to vote has still to become a reality. For years the Negro has fought for this right, winning here and there. Yet only about 23 per cent of all eligible Negro voters actually vote in the South. Local pressure, discriminatory application of laws, and illegal manipulation of ballots still prevent many Negroes from voting. In some sections, especially those less urban in character, registration officials still refuse to register Negroes on specious grounds. Sometimes registration boards refuse to meet, in order that Negroes may have no opportunity to qualify as voters; at other times these boards administer "examinations" to aspiring Negro voters which are guaranteed to keep them from voting. Often a mob atmosphere terrorizes Negroes and keeps them

from registering and voting. On the other hand, Negroes have long contended for the right to vote and have appealed to the courts for years.

Negroes have come to appreciate what the noted English social scientist Harold Laski observed some years ago, that "those who are excluded from politics are also excluded from the benefits of government." The heatedly contested Civil Rights Bill before the Congress in 1957—the first civil rights bill passed by Congress in eighty years—created a Commission on Civil Rights with authority ". . . to investigate denials of voting rights based on color, race, religion or national origin." Much of the bite was taken out of the original bill to appease Southern politicians, and the Commission was challenged in its first attempt to investigate voting denials in the South by local officials who defied its authority. But the significant fact is that at long last Congress has passed a law buttressing the Fifteenth Amendment—a step which would have appeared impossible just a few short years ago, and a step taken in the face of dire predictions and threats.

This, then, is the atmosphere and these are the times in which this "review and reaffirmation" is written. One hopes for the best but cannot be sure of it until men and women learn the facts, separate fact from fiction, examine their own dedication and ideals, and rededicate themselves to work, alone and with others, for justice in our land, as free citizens and as children of God.

2. How It Started

In 1619 THE FIRST AFRICANS, twenty of them, arrived in Virginia. They were the parents of the first slaves in British North America. These first African arrivals were not unlike many whites who were "bound out" in servitude. At that time color and slavery had not become synonymous. "Slavery," meaning buying, selling, ownership of, and enforced work by Africans exclusively, evolved with time. It was a free Negro planter who, in 1654, while suing to regain his Negro servant, evoked in Virginia the first judicial support for lifelong slavery. Other factors played into the situation, such as similarity of ethnic background and religion, and exploitation of the pseudoscientific doctrine which led the white settlers to view Christian whites as superior to "heathen" Africans. In addition, there was the dollars-and-cents reason: fellow-whites, as indentured servants, cost more to maintain than did Negro slaves.

Slavery grew. Plantation owners acquired power, wealth, and a comfortable way of life. The small farmer and artisan tended to look down on manual work because Negro slavery cast a stigma on it. Even though Negroes were upbraided for "laziness," it was Negro labor which opened the new land and built the great plantations. Slaves performed the least attractive, hot, hard, heavy, and hazardous jobs. As private property they could be bought and sold; their family life might be wiped out, and their offspring would become slaves. The slaves were fed and sheltered, but they could not bargain for wages or quit their jobs. In law, and in the common thinking, slaves were chattels. In the Dred Scott case (1857) the Supreme Court ruled that to the founding fathers, as they wrote the Constitution, Negroes "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

But the conflict between the generally accepted concept of the divine

nature of man and the degradation which slavery imposed on master and servant alike troubled thoughtful men. The land of slavery was also heir to the Declaration of Independence, with its ideals of freedom that still stir mankind. For a slaveholding society to espouse the cause of personal liberty and still reap the benefits of this "peculiar institution," it was necessary to invent a series of myths. Some of the myths which were developed to justify slavery are still used today to justify discrimination and segregation.

It was alleged that:

1. *The Negro was benefited by slavery because it brought him out of savagery into the blessings of Western culture.*

Anthropologists and historians, in Europe and the United States, now hold that the Africans, kidnaped and sold into slavery, had previously lived under systems of law and tradition, formal family organization, and a pattern of morality, with works of art and craftsmanship which compared favorably with those of Europe a few hundred years earlier. Family and tribal groupings among the arriving slaves were deliberately broken up because slave merchants and slaveholders alike recognized that for the slavery system to be a success, it was necessary to divide them. The slave system first cut off the cultural traditions of the incoming Africans and later asserted that the Africans had no indigenous culture prior to their enslavement.

2. *Plantation life was an ideal patriarchal society.*

It is to be admitted that the relationship between house servants and the slaveholder's family, and between the small landowner and his one or two slaves, was close and often friendly. Indeed, if we exclude the idea of equality and think only of intimacy of contact, integration was the way of life in a plantation household. For example, the children of Robert E. Lee and the children of his slaves studied under the same tutor. A farmer-owner worked alongside his one or two slaves. Mutual consideration was very likely to prevail. But house servants were few in comparison with the total number of slaves; and small farms did not pay, so slavery and large plantations became the general pattern of the times.

The plantation owner had very little contact with his field hands. He may have given his overseer a high standard to follow, but economic gain was what he expected and demanded. For this result, the foremen exacted excessive hours of work by dint of flogging, maiming and other tortures, including the breakup of families. Plantation life was not idyllic.

3. *The Negro was happy in slavery and did not want to be free.*

Slaves quickly learned that masters and overseers liked to see cheerful faces and that an obsequious servant could obtain favors and escape punishment which would have earned a whipping for a sullen slave. Is it surprising, then, that slaves cultivated a happy-go-lucky manner and that the children of slaves imitated their forebears? But were the slaves happy? They could not have been contented or they would not have run away. They would not have rebelled. Yet the newspapers frequently printed the detailed identification of slaves who escaped, or reported the sending of bloodhounds in pursuit of them. The Nat Turner Insurrection in Virginia in 1831 and the earlier, well-planned, but abortive Denmark Vesey uprising in South Carolina are two among many attempts by slaves and former slaves to overthrow the system of slavery and replace it with freedom. The laws passed by the slave states to insure the *status quo* are evidence that the slaves would strike out for freedom whenever they saw a chance.

4. *The Negro was unfit mentally and morally for freedom.*

Slaveholders and their apologists expounded endless "proofs" that slavery was the only way of life for Africans because they were mentally unfit for freedom. Further, they averred that slaves had no ambition and would take no pains with their work unless driven to do so. The slaveholders had to make these assertions in an attempt to satisfy themselves that slavery was right. But other actions showed that they could not believe their own arguments. They passed laws making it a crime to teach slaves to read, they outlawed the distribution of what was considered incendiary literature among slaves, and they prohibited free assembly. If Negroes were mentally unable to learn, would these laws have been considered necessary?

Where slaves were permitted to buy their freedom or to operate as independent craftsmen, and so gain extra pay and privileges, they showed themselves able to plan, manage, and produce. They were not afraid of hard work. The "big houses" still standing on Southern plantations and the handsome wrought-iron grills in old New Orleans, as well as other products of mill and shop, attest the skill of Negroes both as slaves and freemen. Phyllis Wheatley's poems written in the late 1700's and the graduation of the first Negroes from Bowdoin College in Maine in 1826 also contradict the myth that Negroes were mentally unfit for a status other than that of bondage.

5. *It was only those Negroes with an admixture of "white blood" who had initiative and superior intelligence.*

Having assumed the Negroes had low intelligence, the slaveholding society found a way to explain why some Negroes showed superior mental ability. Their argument was this: Negroes are intelligent or successful to the extent that they have "white blood" in their veins. Few, if any, responsible investigators accept this claim. If attempts to escape demonstrate initiative, there was untold initiative among the fully-Negro slaves. Advertisements issued to help in their capture show that by far the larger number of fugitives were described as "pure black" or of "pure African" features.

6. *Negroes were not really human.*

Sooner or later it was to be expected that a slaveholding society would have to maintain that the slaves were not really human. At this point pseudo-scientists came in. A Dr. Cartwright of Louisiana catalogued a series of diseases which, he declared, were peculiar to Negroes. These included "Drapetomania," a disease which caused slaves to run away, and "Dyaesthesia Aethiopica," which, he said, overseers erroneously called "rascality."

Although such alleged diagnoses were not taken seriously by intelligent people, it has remained for the twentieth century to demonstrate through anthropology, psychology, and physiology, that the so-called racial criteria are only skin deep.

7. *Slavery was good for Negroes because it gave them the benefits of the Christian religion.*

Undoubtedly many owners were sincere about Christianizing their slaves. But the church and religion became additional means to keep the slaves in their place and justify slavery. The general outlawing of education also meant that the slaves had to take religion as it was given them. In general they could not read. Church attendance meant sitting in the slave gallery or attending a separate service for slaves.

These are samples of the myths which for nearly 250 years influenced and affected the lives of both whites and Negroes in the United States. They found their way into sermons, lectures, textbooks, and classrooms and became an unquestioned form of brain-washing.

RECONSTRUCTION MYTH

Reconstruction is one area about which it is fair to say that many white Americans have not been able to replace myth with fact, even though it is charged that the Negro was responsible for inefficient and corrupt government in the former slave states during the Reconstruction period. There is always much to complain about when occupied by a victorious army, as was the case of the South following the Civil War. It is also true that no one likes government imposed from without. In the postwar period the South, along with the whole nation, suffered the results of the war. The South had special problems because of Reconstruction policy and practice, for which there often seems little justification. The spoils system, exploitation by Northern business, and the inability of former Southern leaders to participate in government were among the evils of Reconstruction. The important fact needed to replace myth, however, is that the evils of war or Reconstruction were in no manner the fault of Negroes.

The Reconstruction regimes were in no sense Negro governments. Negroes did not control a single state or city administration or legislature. Few headed important legislative committees. There was never a Negro governor, although a Negro lieutenant governor in Louisiana served for a time as acting governor, and in South Carolina during one legislative period more Negroes than whites served in the legislature.

Bills to establish or improve the public school system, to counteract political corruption and extravagance, to establish a homestead law, and to provide relief for the needy were introduced by Negroes. Some former slave states, while condemning political participation by Negroes in the state governments, have continued to function under constitutions which Negroes helped to write.

The Negroes in Reconstruction legislatures were men of some experience, and a few freedmen had higher education. They often showed a desire for reconciliation with the white population and espoused programs for the development and strengthening of the South.

HOME RULE AFTER CIVIL WAR

By 1877 the protection which the federal government had given to Reconstruction governments was lifted, and the South began to experience "home rule." Step by step Negroes were pushed out of government. Through discriminatory laws and mob violence, the right to vote was withdrawn from Negroes. There began a long series of laws and practices designed to "keep Negroes in their place," to segregate them in public places, and to make racial segregation legal. No area of life was uninvolved—from the cradle to the grave.

Most Americans are aware of the patterns of racial discrimination. It is popularly supposed, also, that segregation, as symbolized by Jim Crow railway cars, separate facilities in public places, and the exclusion of Negroes from places of recreation, has prevailed since slavery. To most Americans these racial practices are so long established and deep-set that it is not to be expected that they can be changed easily or quickly. In reference to public-school desegregation, for instance, a national weekly carried a series of articles in 1957 emphasizing that the deep South will "never" submit to such integration.

The truth is, however, that formal, thorough, complete, and legal segregation is relatively new. It has not always existed, as C. Vann Woodward, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, has recently pointed out. In his book, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow,* he reveals that more than ten years were to pass after Reconstruction "before the first Jim Crow law was to appear upon the law books of a southern state, and more than two decades before the older states of Virginia, North

Carolina and South Carolina were to adopt such laws." Shortly after Southern "home rule" was reinstituted, several observers traveling in the South reported that Negroes were being treated with equality on common carriers—trains and streetcars—and were being admitted freely to theaters, exhibitions, and lectures. One traveler in Columbia, South Carolina, found Negroes "served at bars, soda water fountains and ice cream saloons, but not generally elsewhere." A Richmond, Virginia, newspaper editor wrote in 1886: "Nobody here objects to serving on juries with Negroes. No lawyer objects to practicing law in a court where Negro lawyers practice . . . ."

Mr. Woodward reports that in 1897 a Charleston, South Carolina, editor fought a proposed Jim Crow law for trains in these words:

> We care nothing whatever about northern or outside opinion in this matter. It is a question for our own decision according to our own ideas of what is right and expedient. And our opinion is that we have no more need for a Jim Crow system this year than we had last year, and a great deal less than we had twenty or thirty years ago.

The editor added that such a law was "unnecessary and uncalled for" and "a needless affront to our respectable and well behaved colored people."

Woodward cautions that:

> . . . although the segregation system is relatively new, it is grounded upon theories and attitudes that are not at all new. It is a mistake to assume that the idea of innate Negro inferiority and white supremacy originated along with the Jim Crow system, for they are much older. Segregation is, after all, only the latest phase in the long history of the white man's ways of fixing the Negro's status, his "place."

This "long history" explains why the South has had no monopoly on practices of racial discrimination and segregation; why non-slave states have also practiced racial proscription, both legal and nonlegal. In the period from 1875 to 1910 the North tended to imitate the South—more subtly, but every bit as effectively.

3. "Separate but Equal" —A Contested Doctrine

FROM 1897 TO 1954 THE UNITED STATES lived by the "separate but equal" doctrine in Negro-white relations. This doctrine was made law in late 1896 by the Supreme Court in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*. The Court, in deciding a case of intrastate segregation on railroads under Louisiana law, rejected the plaintiff's argument that "enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority." The Court ruled, however, that in order to be legal, segregation would have to go hand in hand with "equal" accommodations. Thus we have the doctrine of "separate but equal."

The Supreme Court did not originate this idea. As far back as 1849 the Massachusetts Supreme Court (in *Roberts* v. *Boston*) has held that segregation of the races in Boston's public school system, of itself, was not unconstitutional. It is to be noted that this decision preceded the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

In both the Roberts and Plessy cases, the Courts upheld the propriety of recognizing race and color as factors to be considered in civil rights cases. This line of argument was maintained until 1954, when the Supreme Court reversed itself and took the position of Justice John Marshall Harlan of Kentucky, who had dissented in the Plessy case. He asserted: "Our Constitution is color blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

Plessy v. *Ferguson* strengthened the hands of all those, North and South, who wanted to practice racial segregation. It was applied in every area of public life. States, counties, cities, and private agencies established segregated schools, playgrounds, parks, community centers, hos-

pitals, cemeteries, and transportation accommodations. Legal separation generally meant the provision of services for whites alone. Many people are not aware that often there was no service or facility for Negroes. For example, some school districts had no secondary education for Negroes; others provided buses to transport white children to a consolidated school but had no bus for Negro pupils. In some cities the white high school had a well-equipped athletic field and gymnasium, while the Negro school had no field or gymnasium; in some cases, white schools had adequate science laboratories, but Negro schools had none. Many localities, especially prior to 1935, provided no hospital facilities for Negroes, maintained no street paving in the Negro district, and, in the North and South alike, where there were swimming pools, their use was restricted to white persons only, or they were opened one day a week for Negroes. This day was usually the last before the pools were emptied, cleaned, and refilled. Actual necessities might be separate; extras were often nonexistent for Negroes.

Improvement in the practice of "separate but equal" usually came about under the compulsion of war or of court decisions, although some improvements resulted from efforts of a concerned minority persisting even under the most disheartening circumstances.

During the years of legal segregation, voices were lifted against it on constitutional, moral, and democratic grounds. But until 1954 the Supreme Court upheld the Plessy decree that racial segregation did not in itself constitute inequality. Decisions to equalize teachers' salaries, to open graduate and law schools to Negroes, and to end discriminatory treatment on railroad dining cars were decided without any reversal of the Plessy decision. Legally, the doctrine of "separate but equal" still held.

In their search for ways to challenge their unequal status, Negroes were hampered by lack of a political voice. Any group which cannot exert political power unfortunately is ignored and ill served.

THE END OF "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL"

The five Supreme Court decisions—i.e., *Briggs* v. *Elliot* (Clarendon County, South Carolina); *Davis* v. *County School Board* (Prince Edward County, Virginia); *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (Topeka, Kansas); *Belton* v. *Gebhart, Bulah* v. *Gebhart* (Wilmington, Delaware); and

Bolling v. *Sharpe* (Washington, District of Columbia)—which put an end to the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" doctrine in education are now used as precedents for the desegregation of public playgrounds, parks, and beaches. They also have a hearing on the legality of all-white and all-Negro eligibility lists issued by city civil service commissions. This is similar to the extension of the decision in *Plessy* v. *Ferguson,* which involved Louisiana railroads, to cover other forms of discrimination.

The school decision of 1954 was the climax and inevitable culmination of what courts had been saying and preparing for during more than a decade. The trend was definite. The judicial branch of the government was not a lone wolf. Some executive and legislative branches were beginning to take steps, often painful and plodding, to reaffirm the "American Creed." But unfortunately the federal legislature did not enact a single piece of domestic civil rights legislation from the years shortly after the Civil War until 1957, when a sharply limited civil rights law was enacted by Congress. Its meaning and effect have yet to be determined.

In some state legislatures the picture is a happier one. Although prior to 1940 more than thirty of the states had laws aimed at preserving and extending the segregation of Negroes, by 1954 several states had taken steps to nullify this discriminatory legislation. Today fifteen states prohibit discrimination in employment based solely on race or religion. Fair-employment ordinances have been adopted in eighty-eight municipalities; in twenty-four municipalities these are strengthened by enforcement powers. Over half the workers in the United States are now covered by these new protective measures. Much remains to be done on the housing front, but notable beginnings have been made in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, Washington, and Oregon, which are applying various laws to prevent discrimination in publicly assisted housing. The cities of Pittsburgh and New York have adopted local ordinances directed against discrimination in private housing. Home-financing agencies of the federal government have agreed to abide by state provisions outlawing housing segregation and to withhold federal financing and guarantees where a state has ruled that there is illegal discrimination. Unfortunately, where state laws do not prevent it, segregation is financed by these same federal agencies. But this practice was challenged by a June, 1958, decision of the California Superior Court in Sacramento which declared discrimination in the sale of housing in-

volving FHA– or VA–financing unconstitutional. The federal government "cannot play favorites as to race, color, or creed," the judge declared.

Something should be said about the effect of World Wars I and II on the changing status of Negro citizens. During World War I, the South and North competed for Negro workers. The slogan of "make the world safe for democracy" gave at least some lift to domestic relations. And increasing interest in public affairs on the part of Southern white women was a new note. These women protested that their men did not need to "protect" them by resorting to violence against Negroes. During the first war, Negroes had "closed ranks" to support the United States, despite segregation in the armed services and outbursts of mob violence even against men in uniform.

World War II, with its opposition to the racism of Hitler and Mussolini, benefited American Negroes by creating a more sympathetic climate for opposing racism at home. By this time, Negroes had become more important as voters in key cities of the North. Increased literacy and experience had lifted the sights of Negro leaders and their followers. By the end of the war Negro soldiers had won new opportunities in the armed forces. Training for military service admitted them to a number of educational institutions formerly closed to them. Political and economic circumstances opened doors in shops, factories, and offices.

The armed forces became increasingly integrated by a Presidential executive order in 1948 and a resulting directive by the Secretary of Defense the following year. Since 1953 other directives have been issued to eliminate spots of segregation, including segregated schools for the children of armed forces personnel in defense installations.

With regard to fair employment, the executive branch of the United States government has shown an interest and has taken action in two directions: in employment practices by the federal government itself, and in controlling the practices of private enterprises which hold government contracts. Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower issued orders requiring observance of the nondiscriminatory clauses contained in government contracts. Special committees on contract compliance functioned under two Presidents. Since 1953 the Vice-President of the United States has served as chairman of the current committee. It must be noted, however, that the contractual agreement between the nation and its businessmen, in regard to nondiscriminatory employment, is promoted primarily through urging compliance rather than through legal enforce-

ment of the contracts. In this area the government has not made the most of the fact that the United States is the nation's largest employer.

In reference to federal employment, the scarcity of personnel in certain categories has been an important factor against discrimination during and since World War II. Together with affirmative Presidential policy, the greater significance of the Negro vote in key Northern cities, and a marked change of attitude among personnel men, this need for man power has helped to democratize federal employment, especially in the lower classifications. The millennium has not arrived. There are still questionable or unclear areas, but there is notable demonstration that Americans of diverse racial backgrounds can work successfully in the same office, eat in the same dining room, supervise or be supervised, and share in leisure-time activities without humiliating devices of separation based on religion, race, or color.

Outside the government, there had also been a break with the habit of segregation by 1954. Years of work and protest by individuals and private organizations, surveys, complaints of how colored diplomatic representatives had been insulted, and some picketing gradually opened doors and lowered barriers in eating places and hotels in the nation's capital. As long ago as 1939, some leaders in government protested and took action when they learned that Marian Anderson had been barred from singing in Washington's leading auditorium. One little woman, past ninety, stood as a reminder of what a single concerned individual can do. She was Mary Church Terrell, educator and civic leader long retired. In spirit and in person she led the silent picketers who braved hot and cold weather, day after day, to call attention to the anti-Negro practices in the District of Columbia's eating places. Before her death, she saw the turn of the tide.

In the forefront of the struggle to overcome enforced segregation has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization at once loved, maligned, and misunderstood. The NAACP has deep roots in America. Organized by men and women of many racial, religious, and economic backgrounds, its coast-to-coast membership is open to all. While impatient for reform, it has always shown itself patient enough to utilize the processes and instruments of democracy, the Constitution, public opinion, the courts, and the best legal minds available. This it has done effectively, advancing not only the cause of Negro and other colored citizens, but enhancing the dignity and divinity in each of us.

There are other courageous and able organizations. The National Urban League has for many years done solid work in preparing Negroes for wider opportunities. The Southern Regional Council, working in the South, has contributed in a major way by combating myth and encouraging action projects on the local level. The YWCA, wise and effective, has stressed the establishment of integrated programs and projects. Some labor-union leadership has notably demonstrated interracial brotherhood, and some unions have carried on vigorous programs of education to erase discrimination and prejudice within their own ranks.

Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish agencies work through programs of education and action projects toward the implementation of their religious ideals. The major Protestant denominations or their affiliated agencies have adopted forthright declarations of policy challenging religious groups to make urgent changes in local church practices that pertain to race. Even though the gulf between the churches' preaching and practice is still great, the position of the Protestant church today contrasts sharply with the time when "white superiority" and racial segregation were given the sanction of Christianity.

Radio, television, popular magazines, and newspapers have also helped Americans to know the truth about the "separate but equal" doctrine. The public increasingly realizes that this doctrine should never have existed and that in fact the separation was never equal.

4. Why Confusion and Opposition

In reviewing the steps that have moved Americans as a people along the way toward equal opportunity, we have seen that the roadblocks and retreats have been many and that the forward steps have often been timid, clumsy, and faltering. On the other hand, forward steps have sometimes been firm, brave, and rapid. They have brought us to the present moment, when something of the old has given way, never to be reinstated. Much of the new has yet to be seen in clear and full focus.

One of the perplexing aspects of the present time is the intense reaction to the challenge of the Supreme Court decisions. If ever there was handwriting on the wall to prepare a people for change, such premonitions appeared before 1954. If people had noted the signs of progress, they would not have been surprised by the Supreme Court decision. But many Americans were surprised; many were shocked and have remained confused. Others, not themselves either surprised or confused, have exploited confusion for their special ends.

Reasons for the confusion and opposition are (1) fear of change, (2) exploitation of the decision by those who ought to know better, and (3) the historic clash between ideals and practice.

FEAR OF CHANGE

Most people are afraid of change. Their reaction may be anything from verbalized nostalgia to overt revolt and violence. The more a relationship or an institution is emotionally loaded, the more difficult it is for people to accept the fact that everything changes, everything is affected by

time and circumstance. Most people have little emotional capacity to accept change easily when it has a personal effect.

But if it is axiomatic that change is hard, there is ample evidence that men do accept change, for themselves and for their world. Change is not contrary to the nature of man. How impossible our world would be if there were no room for change!

A manifest contradiction appears in the fact that men will revolt against change in some areas while demanding it in others; or they will insist on change for the better for themselves, while fighting to "keep things as they are" for others. People covet the newest in technological improvements; yet, at the same time, they admit little room for change in their ideas or institutions. For example, states anxious for industrialization, which itself represents enormous change, often have shown themselves adamant against unionization. Southern agricultural areas wanting factories have not been ready for the change which would utilize Negroes as factory workers. Northern centers, although they lured Negro workers in wartime, have often used violent measures to keep them from renting or buying homes.

Another side of the resistance to the advancement of Negro citizens is people's need for what Robert Penn Warren calls "pridefulness." Writing in *Life,* he quotes a white official of a segregationist organization who calls himself a "redneck." "The redneck," he says, "is on the underside of the plank with nothing between him and the bare black ground. He's got to have something to give him pride. Just to be better than something."

Our United States history is continuously marked by change. From a colonial people we have advanced to a free and sovereign nation. We have transformed our wage system so that slave-labor and low-pay labor have given way to the most highly paid labor in the world. From a second-rate nation we have moved to a position of leadership. Our standard of living is geared to change. Each year's styles quickly supplant last year's. The horse and buggy have given way to the automobile and the airplane. The silent movie has been replaced by stereophonic sound. Today's purchasing power was never dreamed of before the era of installment buying and deferred payments. Without change the United States would not, and could not, be the country that we know, nor could we be the kind of people we are—economically, socially, or politically.

EXPLOITATION OF THE ISSUE OF RACE

Often the opposition to the Supreme Court decision is based on more concrete grounds than fear of change. Some opponents of the new pattern, even when they have overcome their fears and conflicts, still find it to their advantage to generate alarm, to incite and attack, and to organize "hate" groups.

Politics and profits are responsible for at least some of the extreme opposition.

Some politicians play up the fears of white people—the threats to "white womanhood" and to white supremacy. They make it appear that every time a Negro seeks one new goal there are fifteen million other Negroes around the corner planning an invasion. These politicians know that freedom to vote does not mean that all Negroes will vote alike or vote just for Negroes or against the interests of their white neighbors. They know that Negroes have varying economic, social, and political interests and that their vote will vary with these interests except as they are forced to take a common stand against a common outside pressure. People being what they are, not even in Montgomery, Alabama, did every Negro join or support the anti–Jim Crow bus boycott.

When we speak of politicians, we are not pointing to office holders alone but to all persons active in political affairs, who have aspirations for political power and who profit politically from exploiting the racial fears of white voters and controlling the electorate by keeping it small. These political activities help create the condition under which no politician feels he can campaign for office—and win—without exploiting the race issue.

Some profit seekers are interested in keeping both white and Negro workers malleable and low paid. They understand the "divide and rule" principle. An unscrupulous real-estate dealer benefits financially by promoting panic selling among white homeowners when one Negro family moves into a previously all-white block. A particularly unethical dealer may even make the first Negro sale so that he can exploit the fears and ignorance of white owners and lead them to sell him their homes at a loss, allowing him in turn to resell to Negroes at a handsome profit.

THE CLASH BETWEEN BELIEFS AND PRACTICE

The United States as a nation has been, and is, facing two ways—in one direction toward what Americans believe and in the other toward what Americans do. This was the thesis of Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist who undertook in the late 1930's the most comprehensive study of American race relations ever completed. Myrdal, in the introduction to his *An American Dilemma,* explained:

> The American Dilemma, referred to in the title of this book, is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people, and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook.

Myrdal and his associates studied the strange anxieties, the paradoxes, and the stresses and strains of Americans as they lived with segregation and discrimination. In trying to define the meaning of our racial pattern of living, Myrdal found in race relations the basic American dilemma.

We Americans have stated clearly the equality of men and our belief that human freedom should not be limited by factors of wealth, social station, or ancestry. And all the while we have developed an elaborate and deeply entrenched system of human relations in which white and Negro are set apart from each other and treated with myriad varieties of invidious distinction. In the presence of this paradox we experience guilt, fear, hostility, anxiety, and distrust. The unresolved dilemma makes us weak where we should be strong. The American dilemma is a moral one. Says Myrdal: "The moral struggle goes on within people and not only between them. As people's valuations are conflicting, behaviour normally becomes a moral compromise . . . ."

This moral schizophrenia is responsible for the nature of some of the

opposition to the Supreme Court's decision. When a person repeats "Our Father" every night and by day stands in his state legislature questioning the common fatherhood of God, he is bound to suffer conflict. If he ponders the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution and yet continues to deny equality to his fellow citizens, he is bound to feel uneasy. Personal conflicts send large numbers of Americans to psychiatrists. Our national dilemma brings about a similar unrest.

5. From before Birth until after Death

PERHAPS ONLY RECENTLY have sensitive people become fully aware of the suffering endured by human beings who find themselves unwanted, barred, labeled, segregated, and trapped; who find themselves classified and judged as a mass instead of as individuals. Because of the natural identification, few, if any, escape from suffering. It is, in part, this pervasive quality of American segregation which led the Supreme Court to hold that segregation itself is destructive and that it has such an impact on the victims as to call for judicial remedy under the authority of our Constitution. From before birth until after death the American Negro is in one way or another a victim of the United States' brand of racism.

Consider the individual. Perhaps his mother received inadequate prenatal care. On the day of his birth she may have been denied admission to any but the crowded segregated wing of a general hospital or to a second-rate Negro hospital, or she may have been denied hospital care altogether.

As school age approaches, parents of the Negro youngsters in some parts of the country find no nurseries or kindergartens open to them, although such facilities may be readily available to white children. During the elementary grades many Negro pupils find themselves with no choice but to attend poorly equipped, understaffed, and overcrowded schools. Sometimes they actually walk past schools "for whites only" which are more than adequate in all their appointments. Until recently, Negro youths in many places had no opportunity for high school training, and, where the opportunity did exist, the equipment was often inferior and only a few fields of training were offered. In a Southern county

some years ago, the superintendent saw no need for Bunsen burners for the chemistry course at a Negro high school. In another, a school official said, "We have not taught Negroes any secretarial subjects here in over twelve years." In still another, in the Southwest, all the Negro students of whatever grade were segregated in one class, taught by a single Negro teacher, in a separate room of an otherwise all-white high school.

In spite of obstacles, some Negro students completed the prescribed curriculum and went on to either higher education or employment. If they chose higher education, here again they met with discriminatory treatment ranging from refusal of admittance to state or private institutions to relegation to poorly supported all-Negro institutions. There were many fields of learning and training which no Negro could hope to enter, regardless of his qualifications.

Outside the "separate but equal" states, racial segregation, and discrimination either kept Negroes out of some institutions or admitted them with less than full status. Usually no Negro was admitted to a medical school. Negro young women might be admitted for classes in home economics but denied the opportunity for practice in household management, which called for living in a home situation with white students. The factor of race has often led to refusal to house Negro students in college dormitories, or to denial of the opportunity to participate in all sports or some sports, or to an unwritten law barring Negroes from certain honors. Refusal to admit a Negro to engineering or business training has been explained away by saying that the college could not secure employment for a Negro who has had this training.

In the field of employment Negroes have suffered, regardless of their qualifications. A few observers have remarked that the more training they have, the more they suffer. White workers, union and nonunion, have sometimes rallied by habit or through agitation to keep Negroes out of employment. Occasionally Negroes are refused employment because of being "unpromotable"; more recently the excuse has been made that a certain Negro was acceptable for the work but unacceptable because of the many social functions which the employer conducts for his workers. More often the excuse is no more than the rebuff, "We have never used Negroes here."

What is true of private industry is also true of public employment. Since emancipation, Negroes have found themselves largely "unwanted" as policemen, firemen, toll collectors on bridges, technicians, or clerical

workers. In one border city two or three years ago a Negro elected to the City Council discovered by accident a category of civil servants who were the only employees not granted sick leaves or vacations. On inquiry he found them to be the street cleaners, all Negroes, some of whom had worked steadily for as long as twenty-five years.

Until World War II there was little difference between North and South, or between segregationists and nonsegregationists, in employment policy. Many outstanding American employers, spokesmen for "the American way," have practiced discrimination by never employing Negroes.

Even today, in all parts of the United States, employment discrimination persists. What is the employment pattern in most government offices, on airlines, in railroad stations and on railroads, in banks and leading stores, on newspapers and news services, in many religious and social-welfare organizations, in many colleges and universities?

When a Negro looks for a place to live, he is confronted with "not wanted," if he seeks anything better than, or different from, the accommodations in a "Negro section." The blockade of custom and code results in a housing situation which has nothing to do with a Negro's ability to pay, his character, or his occupancy standards.

That Americans can live as neighbors, amicably and constructively, is illustrated in a recent survey by the Commission on Civil Rights of the State of Connecticut. *Private Interracial Neighborhoods in Connecticut* is a study of the "progress of racial integration of white and Negro families in non-segregated, private, residential neighborhoods." These neighborhoods in thirty-two towns include six hundred Negroes who have lived side by side with, or across the street from, whites over varying periods of time. Some have been there thirty years or more; others from two to twenty years; others less than one year. Energetic exclusionists who instigate neighborhood opposition to new Negro householders might be enlightened by this Connecticut finding:

> [These] Negroes moved from their former neighborhoods for essentially the same reasons that motivated their white neighbors; they wanted a better place to live. Their motive was not to engage in an interracial experiment.

So much has been said about the pivotal Negro vote in fifteen Northern states—made pivotal by the northward migration of Negroes during and

between the two World Wars—that many Americans have forgotten that in the rural South, Negroes are still largely denied the vote. Where Negroes outnumber or are nearly equal in number to whites, despite recent campaigns to "Get Out the Vote" or "Register and Vote," the Negro finds that appeals to voters do not include him. The steady effort to disfranchise Negroes in the South is convincing testimony that the right to vote is crucial in the total scheme of racial segregation and discrimination. Despite improvements over the past twenty-five years, according to two special reports issued by the interracial Southern Regional Council, fewer than 1,250,000 of the more than 9,000,000 Negro inhabitants in eleven Southern states are now registered.

The Congressional debates of 1957 on the Civil Rights Bill, now a law, furnished further evidence on suffrage in the South, but not even those debates are as striking as the case study of the Negroes of Tuskegee, Alabama, and their efforts to vote. Some six hundred Negroes resident in Tuskegee are eligible to vote. They are largely employees of the all-Negro Tuskegee Institute and the Tuskegee Veterans Administration Hospital and their families. They include a high proportion of college administrators and teachers, as well as trained professionals in the field of medicine. In reference to the "separate" policy of their state, these Negroes behaved for too long in an accommodating way. They were too willing to accept the relatively favorable economic position of their separate life. For seventy-six years Tuskegee Institute has brought international attention to the town and has been its most important customer. But what happened when the Negro citizens of Tuskegee decided to take seriously the urging to "Register and Vote"?

First, the election registrars used all the historic tricks to disqualify those who applied for registration. Next, the board of registrars decided not to convene for receiving new registrations. Then the Alabama Legislature, in 1957, separated the Negro community from the town of Tuskegee, leaving only ten Negro voters in the town. Tuskegee Institute and the Tuskegee Veterans Hospital were made part of Macon County, without the right to the usual services furnished by an incorporated town. Finally, Macon County has been divided into five parts, each to be added to another county. All this rearrangement has been undertaken because there were more Negroes than whites in Macon County!

The Governor of Alabama refused to sign the Tuskegee gerrymandering proposal, leaving it to become law without his signature. Those white

citizens of Tuskegee who knew their Negro neighbors best did not say a public word against this procedure.

Campaigns to prevent Negroes from voting stand out in the South, but there has been political discrimination in the North as well. At times Negroes have been discouraged from voting. They have been segregated in Negro political "clubs" and denied offices in party organizations. They have been given the least attractive or the lowest-paid political jobs.

Even though the northward migration of Negroes, the concentration of Negro voters in certain cities and states, and the tempo of wartime have improved the political status of Negroes in the North, in both parties Negroes still have an extra struggle because of the dominant racial attitude of white America.

In recent years judicial and administrative decrees have outlawed segregation in interstate travel, and a new generation is growing up without knowing much about the Jim Crow railroad coach. Although the pattern has decidedly changed since World War II in such matters as racially dictated seating on buses, segregated and discriminatory arrangements on dining cars, and the Jim Crow coach itself, these improvements have not extended to travel within a state to the same marked degree. Even the decisions handed down in 1956, making segregated seating on municipal bus lines illegal, have not been observed everywhere. Waiting rooms and washrooms of bus, railroad, and airplane systems are, with some exceptions, still set apart on the basis of race in most Southern cities.

The triumphant experience in Montgomery, Alabama, where 50,000 Negroes walked for a year in a nonviolent boycott against the ignominious treatment they received on the local buses, is too recent to cause anyone to think that segregation and discrimination have been eliminated. In less urban areas, where every sheriff is king and every policeman the "law," those against whom the segregated system is aimed still feel that it is the better part of valor to let things remain as they are.

Hotels, motels, and eating places are beyond the reach of federal jurisdiction. A Negro couple seeking hotel accommodation is still not certain to secure it in any hotel in the North. If they are accepted, they are often placed on a certain floor or in a certain corridor where they find the other Negroes who happen to be guests at the time. In the South, Negroes know that they are still not accepted, except under very special circumstances. But there has been improvement, some striking improvement,

especially in the metropolitan areas of the North and West and in the District of Columbia.

It is doubtful whether today a leading Philadelphia hotel would refuse a banquet for the President of Liberia "unless at least 60 per cent of the guests are white," as it did some years ago. In most cities of the North and West, a Negro with a reservation will generally receive accommodation; but he is more certain of accommodation if he is part of an organization holding a convention in the host city or host hotel, or if he is a member of a sports team.

Negro baseball players know what it is to visit a city as part of a team and find themselves compelled to leave their teammates and seek lodging in a "Negro YMCA" or with a Negro family. Since the 1957 season, when Baltimore hotels changed their former practices, it is reported that all major-league cities now open their hotels to all ballplayers, regardless of race or color. The Baltimore Hotel Association took the trouble to chill its welcome by saying that the change was for "economic" reasons only and that the welcome of the hotels was intended only for baseball players and out-of-town delegates attending conventions. If a Negro traveling in Baltimore needs hotel accommodation, it would seem that he must join a baseball team or attend a convention!

The motel is the least predictable of all forms of accommodations. In the South one may see a motel with the sign "Colored Visitors," meaning that colored clientele only is accommodated, or he may see "White Only." But occasionally one hears of a white motel that accepts a Negro traveling party. In the North and West, where there are no racial signs, inquiry by Negroes reveals motel after motel "filled up," or one hears, "We never take colored," or "We think you are looking for Blank's place, about two miles from here," or "We would like to take you, but our guests . . . ."

What is true of motels is also true of eating places—closed by law to Negroes in the South; sometimes closed, despite the law, in the North. Sometimes in the North it is the large, well-known establishment which says, "We are willing, but our guests . . . ." Sometimes it is the little "hole-in-the-wall" that refuses to serve Negroes. These practices are not new in restaurants. They are improving all the time, but how devastating is the inconvenience and the uncertainty for Negroes and for white and Negro persons who are in the same party!

If the Negro turns to waging "peace on earth" through organized religion, here, too, he finds either the reality or the ghost of "separate but equal." Despite gains, it is still true that in the United States at eleven o'clock on Sunday mornings there is more racial segregation, enforced or customary, than at any other time of the week.

This picture of racial segregation and discrimination has not been drawn to make readers bitter or to arouse a spirit of ingratitude for such progress as is generally admitted. But it is easy for the white person to forget that under existing attitudes, emotions, practices, and laws a substantial tenth of our nation is dogged by racism. It is easy to forget that those affected can scarcely fail to carry the scars of their suffering. They cannot always sublimate their hurts in platitudes and optimism.

We might stop here, if segregation and discrimination did not continue to the grave. But in many sections of our country, North and South, there are cemeteries "for whites only" and cemeteries "for Negroes only." Recently, in the Southwest, after a flood in which hundreds of persons lost their lives, one of the pictures featured in the press showed scores of bodies being buried in a common white grave and other scores, Negro victims, being buried in an all-colored grave. Finally, there is the experience of one city where Negro and white have for generations been buried in the same cemetery, the racial groups beginning at opposite ends of the grounds. The day came on which further burials would bring white and Negro bodies alongside each other. The city fathers solemnly legislated that all Negro bodies were to be exhumed and moved to a distant all-Negro cemetery. Neither in life nor in death can a Negro be free from the insults inflicted by racial segregation.

6. The Impact of Segregation on Every American

ALL AMERICANS, not just Negroes, suffer from living in our racially segregated society. We all suffer economically, and we all suffer internationally. We also suffer psychologically.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT

Discrimination and segregation cause large-scale losses to our nation. The evidence accumulates and is reported in such recent studies as Eli Ginzberg's *Negro Potential,* which points out the financial loss to business because Negroes are not permitted to develop their potentialities. Elmo Roper, a marketing and public-opinion analyst on the board of Spiegel's, a Chicago mail-order house, says the United States pays $30,000,000,000 a year for practicing discrimination. In his pamphlet, "The High Cost of Discrimination," Elmo Roper reminds us that discrimination is "impossible to freeze." His point is illustrated by what he calls victim groups:

> Discrimination is based most commonly on color (especially in the case of Negroes), on religion (most notably in the case of Catholics and Jews), on sex (of course, with women), on language (we still have many foreign language groups), on politics (try being a Republican in some parts of South Carolina or a Democrat in some parts of Vermont), on national origin (some still think Anglo-Saxon forebears are superior to South European, for instance), on birth (the silver spoon

> adage still has too many real life illustrations), on property (and this is true if you happen to come too far from either side of the railroad tracks), on economic status . . . , on education, and on many other differences.

Among the economic losses brought about by discrimination, he lists the loss in failing to harness the production potential of available workers; the loss from underproduction stemming from poor morale when workers feel they are being discriminated against; the loss from reduced purchasing power incurred when some workers are forced to live in conditions which exact maximum public services from city, state, and nation; and the loss when an unused or underpaid group is unable to pay substantial taxes, or any taxes, to support public services.

Racism is not good business from any practical point of view.

THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

America loses international status because of discrimination. We do not suggest that we should mend our ways because of what Russians or others think or say to us. We should make the prayer of John Donne our own: "From needing danger to be good, O Lord, deliver us."

As a nation, we long to exert moral leadership in a world that is two-thirds nonwhite. When the United States speaks out for political democracy, the nonwhite people naturally ask, "Does that mean democracy for colored people?"

The American Friends Service Committee's personnel, especially its overseas workers, agree with Chester Bowles, former United States ambassador to India, that the question most often asked about America concerns its "Negro problem," not its high production or its gadgets.

The foreign observer sees the United States in at least four different ways: First, he sees it through his own newspapers. A segregation court case in Virginia was front-page news in a Bangkok English-language paper, where it was given four times as much space as it was in the Washington *Post,* which consistently gives good coverage to such stories. The foreign reader gets a picture of America in which race relations loom larger than they do in the mind of the average American. Trouble spots make the headlines. It is Governor Faubus' rebellion in Arkansas

that makes the front pages, rather than the relatively trouble-free steps toward desegregation in other Southern areas.

We ourselves are careless about the way in which we picture our nation. A recent film made in co-operation with the United States Information Service for publicity abroad portrayed an "ideal," planned community, its residents all white. When shown to a color-conscious foreign audience, such a picture makes a profound impression.

The foreigner also learns about America from Americans abroad. While we have certainly sent some able people abroad on government assignments, too often our official representatives have not been well informed about encouraging developments at home in recent years. Too often there is justification for Chester Bowles' remark in *The New Dimensions of Peace:* "I have met more than one American official in Asia and Africa who, at times, has acted and talked not unlike the racist American prototype regularly found in Russian propaganda."

Visitors to the United States, especially colored visitors, go home with a sense of the depth of tragedy in our segregation.

The trend toward freedom here is but one current in the river which is sweeping away old barriers all over the world. Hundreds of millions of people in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ghana, and many other lands have thrown off white political rule. Millions more have freed themselves from economic and cultural domination. This is more than the breakup of one or another colonial empire; it is world-wide revolution.

How the nonwhite people react to the United States will depend not on what we say but on what we do. Our country is a testing site. The impression we make on other people is part of our responsibility; but more urgent is the moral call to make the "American creed" live, to be our best selves, individually and collectively.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT

A major factor in segregation is its impact on the conscience of white Americans. The Negro has in a sense become the conscience of America. The very explanations used to justify racial segregation show an uneasy conscience.

White parents, faced with the need to create a single integrated school system capable of educating the nation's school children for life in a

democratic society, sometimes avoid the real issue by focusing on intermarriage. The householder, faced with a new Negro neighbor, seeks to justify his "For Sale" sign by economic arguments. The politician who faces a Supreme Court decision which he does not like talks about states' rights.

These questions are very real in people's minds and need discussion, but the moral question—how to build decent relationships based on equality and respect—is the central issue in each case. The arguments put forward to justify action, or inaction, as the case may be, are offered by individuals unconvinced of their rightness and guilty before their own consciences.

Segregation has also given us inadequate and false views of ourselves and others, with the result that we live in an unreal society, peopled by myths. Negro and white have been set so far apart that neither has a realistic idea of the other. We have allowed ourselves to see race through myth-blurred eyes. Each group allows itself to think of the other as somehow quite different, not sharing the hopes and needs common to all people.

White Americans have allowed themselves a conflicting set of beliefs about Negroes as a group. A Negro is satisfied with things as they are; a Negro is to be feared because he wishes to retaliate against those who have oppressed him. The Negro is lazy and lacks the "typical" American drive for advancement; he is a seed-bed for communism, which will flourish on his discontent and provide an answer to his drive for advancement. Who is this Negro American whom white Americans see with such confused eyes? Is he a lesser man, satisfied with a lesser life, or an angry person bent on revenge? If we were not blinded by lack of contact as equals, the truth would show us a normal human being seeking the same fulfillment in his life that is sought by other normal human beings.

The coin has two sides. Negro Americans are daily tempted to think of white Americans as far less than children of God. They know that someone stands between them and freedom. Who else can it be but the white Americans who chained them in slavery and checked them with segregation? Who else can it be but the white Americans who extol, but refuse to grant, liberty?

The answers to these questions are not easy. No one denies the existence of injustice or excuses those responsible for it. However, stereotyped thinking can be wiped from the mind of the Negro as it can be

wiped from the mind of the white man. As Negro Americans plead to be considered individually, on their own merits, so should Negro Americans look at the potential in each white individual. They will find many who have proclaimed, worked, and suffered for the sake of liberty for all. They will find some who have been silenced by fear. And they will find others who suffer daily torment because of the conflict in their lives. The white man who has conformed to rude custom is morally as much a slave in mind and soul as ever a Negro was enslaved in body.

One of the greatest areas of misunderstanding based on our separation-produced ignorance is the subject of intermarriage. This subject is raised by many as if it would stop all argument and paralyze all other thoughts. Many white persons think that Negroes consider marriage to whites an important objective. This myth needs to be replaced by the truth which only knowledge of each other can produce. Some discussion of this myth is included here, not because we see intermarriage as a crucial issue, but because the very thought of it has become an obsession, persisting when many other myths have been replaced with reliable judgment. This myth has become symbolized by the question: "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?"

But evidence is plentiful and clear that Negroes do not consider intermarriage a leading objective. Myrdal's "order of discriminations" showed that while white Americans list intermarriage as the greatest reason for segregation and fair employment as the least, the Negro American reverses the order, wanting first of all equal job opportunities. "The marriage matter," says Myrdal, "is of rather distant and doubtful interest to the Negro."

The myth that intermarriage produces an inferior race is stubbornly resistant to scientific facts which deny inherent differences among the races of mankind. The authors of this pamphlet are neither for nor against interracial marriage. We believe in marriage between two people who love each other and have the capacity to live together as man and wife, to cope with the problems and find the rewards and joys of everyday family life. If a husband and wife are of different races, they need to be strong enough to withstand the pressures of a prejudiced society. The problem is not in the marriage but in the environment which attempts to mold a social institution to conform to an artificial standard. The problem as contrasted to the myth lies in the continuation of laws against intermarriage in many states. We hope for a society in which the condi-

tions which make interracial marriage a special problem will be eliminated.

The intermarriage issue will undoubtedly continue to arouse fear. It is up to Americans to think through this myth and strive for the really important objectives of democracy, unburdened by this particular segregation-produced fear.

In addition to keeping us in ignorance of one another as fellow human beings, segregation has hindered our taking an honest view of ourselves. White Americans have lived in a dream world of superiority, expecting special privileges. When segregation is replaced by liberty, they will have to learn the important lessons that one's future depends on his individual ability and that the rights and privileges of each person are linked to those of every other person, regardless of his race.

Negro Americans are often misled by their image of themselves as relegated to a lesser role. The yearning for liberty never dies, but the hypnotic myth of inferiority can lull almost anyone into some degree of acceptance. The idea of inferiority has been drummed into American Negroes for so long that they are not always able to step up to their right place in society. They knew slavery before Siberia became a symbol. They knew totalitarianism before Hitler was born. The Ku Klux Klan predated the Gestapo. Negroes were lynched and burned alive before Belsen became infamous. Yet Negroes have not been, are not, and will not be inferior. They unite with the resolve of James Weldon Johnson:

> I will not allow one prejudiced person, or one million or one hundred million to blight my life. I will not let prejudice or any of its attendant humiliations and injustices bear me down to spiritual defeat. My inner life is mine, and I shall defend its integrity against all the power of hell!

THE IMPACT OF FREEDOM

In earlier chapters we have indicated that in some areas state legislatures are responding to the white public's fear of change with laws intended to restrict the rights of Negro citizens whose very presence threatened old ways and beliefs. Such people seem willing to risk destroying their own rights as well. Freedom of belief and action are given up under pressure of fear. Recently a white school teacher was shocked to find that she and a Negro teacher who had become friends at a summer

school could not, once the course was over, attend a movie or concert together or even go to a restaurant together for a meal. The white teacher was told by her landlord that she would be evicted if her Negro woman friend visited her again. A white graduate student from Ohio wanted to study under a Negro chemist in the South. But the state law forbade this kind of teacher-student relationship, and the white man had to give up his plans. Recently, a group of students at a Southern white college invited foreign colored students to share their Christmas program. Custom condemned the joint program. These Americans were cheated of the chance to learn about several foreign lands; the visiting students lost the opportunity to learn more about the United States.

Segregation faces us, individually and as a nation, with a moral dilemma. Some among us, and some part of each one of us, want to proceed with the unfulfilled requirements of democracy and to free ourselves in the process. Others, and some part of each of us, fear the new ways and try to hold back the tide of freedom. Many, perhaps most, know what we believe and what we ought to do, but we allow the real or imagined attitude of other people to block us. Segregation has so affected the hearts and minds of some that its termination leads them to acts which are counter to democracy and which ignore religious principle. On the other hand, many who are sick of segregation speak out and behave with honesty and courage.

We are a society facing both ways. There is only one way out of this dilemma. That way requires each American to consider his own responsibility.

7. Responsibility of the Individual

TODAY THERE are no innocent bystanders. What each person does or does not do, what each one says or refrains from saying, the fears on which we act or the fears we overcome, and the friendships we extend or the hands that we withhold have a measurable effect on the achievement of a just society in the United States.

World wars, international crises, and the so-called little wars demonstrate the truth that "no man is an island." Where there is unrest and injustice, bystanders are not innocent. Their inaction creates a dangerous delay into which rush forces of violence and hate.

It was into such a vacuum, created in part by bystanders, that the mob rushed in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where one lone Negro girl was denied her tediously won right to attend the state university and receive an education in the field of her choice. The bystanders were not in the mob. But no member of the mob felt their disapproval. They exerted no influence for peaceful resolution, even though they would probably claim to be in favor of the use of peaceful measures. The experience of Tuscaloosa has been multiplied in many other Southern cities since.

Into such a vacuum rush the unruly gangs in Chicago who spit at Negro children on their way to school from their homes in an interracial public housing project. By night these same people explode homemade bombs near the apartments occupied by Negro families—not bombs to kill the body, but bombs designed to kill the spirit. A bystander cannot claim innocence when he does not try to prevent such injustice.

Into such vacuums rush those whose violence prompts bystanders to proclaim to the world their dissociation from such criminal acts. They decry the murder of the NAACP leader or the young Negro boy; they urge the end of such acts and ask the world not to generalize from

"isolated" incidents. But they daily create an even more dangerous delay, enlarging the possibilities for murder and violence.

When some unscrupulous real-estate man in a "lily-white" area of a Northern city manipulates the inevitable change of racial patterns by promoting panic selling, he catches the bystanders unprepared. They have given no thought to the inevitable consequences of segregated housing patterns which compress one part of the population into dwellings inadequate in quantity and quality. They have no conception that "ghettoized" life for Negroes results, among other things, in the fact that the population density of the worst Harlem block could be matched only if the entire United States population were jammed into two-thirds of New York City. Bystanders are startled when a Negro family with increased purchasing power exercises American initiative in attempting to meet his housing needs by moving into the formerly all-white block which offers more desirable housing.

The bystanders become easy prey to demands to "protect" their neighborhood. They are easily influenced by persons as uninformed as themselves or by agents who want to make quick purchases of property for later resale at exorbitant prices. The bystander is persuaded to flee in panic and make a new life for himself in some other "white" neighborhood. Because he does not recognize the myths of segregation, he cannot realize the satisfactions of living in a democratic community. He will find himself deeply and continually involved in fearful flight from a challenge which he postpones facing and for which he denies any responsibility.

He joins families living in the "white" suburbs—some unmindful of the patterns of exclusion on which their existence rests, others seeking to erect an invisible wall segregating themselves from the possibility of a more just society. In suburbia are to be found some of the most deeply involved of the bystanders of our day.

At this point the authors of this document are moved to develop a major concern, to direct some of our thinking very pointedly at you, the reader, as a challenge to your thinking about your responsibility as an individual. We use the form "you" for this purpose, without for a moment forgetting that we are also involved and that no man can claim to have worked through all the problems which surround him as a member of our segregated society.

If any one person could answer "yes" to all the questions concerning the racially inclusive aspects of where he lives, works, studies, eats, banks,

shops, and plays, he might well say "you must do this" without some pang of conscience. No one of us authors, Negro or white, has moved sufficiently out of all segregated patterns to say "yes" to all these questions. We know of no such person, although there may be one. We are affected daily by segregation, but we are uncomfortably aware of our involvement in its patterns and our responsibility for them at every turn. The important thing to each of us is that we can say "yes" to a fair number of the questions and can work daily to increase our score. We believe that an affirmative answer in each instance must be our goal, one toward which we strive with a deep sense of urgency.

Thus, may we suggest to you, in a spirit of shared responsibility, the following ideas for action:

The first step starts with you where you are. You are a witness—for right or wrong. You have a choice to make. If you choose the design of democracy, you will at once be allied with moral forces working for justice; and you will not be alone.

Since your life daily touches the problems of segregation, you must resolve to separate yourself from discrimination in your personal activities and associations. You may not be able immediately to break away from the web woven by centuries of injustice. But the patterns of segregation can be cracked and broken more generally than will at first seem possible.

First, list the discriminatory institutions to which you are related in business and in religious, fraternal, social, recreational, educational, governmental, and welfare activities. You support them by your personal involvement and by your financial participation through taxes, subscriptions, dues, contributions, and purchases. How you oppose discriminatory policies is largely a matter for you as an individual to decide. One thing is clear: the groups whose policies trouble you can only assume that you accept those policies unless you show them differently. You can play an effective role. Only the reluctant person, seeking an excuse for inaction, will fail to find a way.

For some, nothing short of ending a relationship with the undemocratic institution will suffice. This is not an easy first step for persons who have conformed to unfair patterns. But it is an effective step. It may open the eyes of others to the principles you honor. It will strengthen the will of many who have had doubts and have aspired to decency but have been too timid to put their beliefs into action.

Denunciation does not help. Remember that you have been guilty and are only now breaking with troubling tradition. Let your decision and the reason for it be clearly known. Be frank about your reluctance to break old ties and your hope of joining your friends in a better society.

Do not slip out unnoticed. The principle that requires your action deserves to be known to others. By frank and friendly explanation you may provide the occasion and impulse for a change of policy.

Some of you may decide to remain in the group with the hope of changing its ways. The important factors are your resolve not to let this be an "easy way out" and your judgment about the possibilities for change within the situation.

To be effective in challenge and persuasion over a period of time requires special ability, integrity, and persistence. Illustrative of the potential for success in this approach are the numerous stories of courageous individuals who stand up for their beliefs in their jobs, neighborhoods, P.T.A. meetings, school boards, unions, and churches and who have the satisfaction of seeing change come about through their efforts.

Too many once-hopeful citizens become frustrated, discouraged, and ineffective in carrying out what they felt was an important job. The opportunities for work are going to be, for many of us, of this more-difficult and potentially frustrating sort. We must somehow develop the imagination and staying power to insure that we affect the situation more than it affects us.

Thus far we have suggested individual roles, to be played regardless of what others do. But freedom deserves and requires an arm-in-arm movement of brothers, strengthening and receiving strength from one another. People unite daily for lesser ends. Does the cause of a moral society require less of us?

Your like-minded neighbors, troubled by the same problems that trouble you, can be drawn together by common aspirations. Experience proves that you have more sympathizers than you think you have. There are also a variety of denominational, regional, and national organizations which look to you with welcome and from which you can gain strength, determination, wisdom, and results. To your role as an individual and as an individual related to a like-minded group, democracy makes a further requirement. You must help multiply the opportunities for whites and Negroes to know one another as persons. The high wall of segregation has produced the myths of race and allowed them to go largely unques-

tioned. The myths that separate can be destroyed only as we, Negro and white, come to know one another.

In 1942, during the war, Lillian E. Smith wrote in her magazine, *South Today,* a message to white America, especially the white South, under the title, "There Are Things to Do." This farsighted Georgian, no bystander herself, tried to show people the many "decent things" they could do "to bring ease to the [racial] tension felt throughout our region" —things, for the most part, "so simple, so unrequiring of courage, that even the most timid among us can safely do them." She included learning where the racial pressure points are; urging others to stop using terms of insult; writing letters to radio stations, newspapers, and public officials; seeking out a few individuals across racial lines "with whom you can become good friends"; reading books by and about Negroes; subscribing to a Negro magazine or newspaper; working on some creative interracial project; training our children in good racial manners; including books on minority groups in school and public libraries; speaking out when others are rude; and working to end racial practices in churches, labor unions, and places of employment. Lillian Smith also advised, "spend a little time thinking." She added:

> Think how it must feel to be a Negro in our South today. How it must feel to be jim-crowed on busses, on street cars, in dining cars, in theaters, in elevators, in churches, in schools, hotels, restaurants, in the armed forces, in jobs. How it must feel to be a Negro college president and have to walk 22 flights of stairs in an office building to meet the white chairman of one's board because you won't be jim-crowed into a freight elevator (an incident which occurred recently in Atlanta).

There you have a short list to check what has changed since 1942, what is changing, and what is still "unfinished business" in your community.

GUIDEPOSTS FOR ACTION

There are many guideposts for constructive action. Most of them do not need to be drawn in detail, but you may note here some guides based on experience.

Your voice can be a powerful force for freedom. The right opportunity

to express a clear message is not given to all in the same way or at the same time. When the opportunity comes to you, make use of it.

One opportunity is constantly with each of us. Choose between the language of prejudice and the language of dignity and democracy. This seemingly small step can have powerful effects. The very act of refraining from prejudicial talk is a witness, however subtle, for equality. Slowly but surely it will have a cumulative effect on your listener. Prejudice, yours and that of others, feeds upon itself. The words you choose can starve prejudice and provide nourishment for liberal attitudes.

You have a responsibility to speak in positive terms when others speak in negative ones. When you hear the language of prejudice, do not let it go unchallenged. Adjust your approach to the needs of the situation. Decide whether the objectionable words come from prejudice or ignorance. A friendly refusal to accept what is said can plant the seeds of doubt in the mind of the speaker.

Determine to speak truth about matters of race in your everyday contacts. Avoid seeming to agree with myth and falsehood. Only in this way can you keep your right to speak out at another time—without seeming to be contradictory or hypocritical. Any reasonable American will respect your right to disagree and will honor you for your integrity in doing so. Any unreasonable American should not have the power to influence your actions and speech.

You have a responsibility to advise wisely and honestly when asked for guidance and information. Say what you believe rather than what you think the listener wants to hear. Having spoken, you may find as others have that there are more who agree with you than you could have imagined.

What you do means more than what you say. What you believe and what you say must be put into practice by you. Otherwise, the chasm between preachment and practice will be forever with us. Some, through circumstances, will act on a grand scale—the judge interpreting law rather than fear, the mother leading her children through a mob into a school. Others will bear their witness in little ways. Both are important.

Your efforts for racial justice should be carried out on an interracial basis. Small neighborhood meetings of P.T.A. members, church people, parents, or persons of the same professional interests are often and can generally be interracial. George S. Mitchell, former executive director of the Southern Regional Council, said in the *Social Welfare Forum* (1955):

This follows the one sure rule in doing away with racial prejudice; get people of different groups, with some basis of likemindedness, to work together on a matter of common interest. Two drops of that, and any amount of race prejudice disappears. So the task is to open the little bottle and spread some droplets around. But you have to do it; not just talk about doing it.

Policy people are important. They can speed or delay the day of freedom's establishment. Who are the policy people? They are, among others, the corporation president, the school superintendent, the mayor, the school-board member. They include the bishop and the politician, the store manager and the election board official, the federal official and the local housing official. They are policy makers, but they are also people. As individuals, they deserve to be freed from fear and released from the bonds of discrimination. Enlist them as allies.

Ignorance is unnecessary and dangerous. It provides the climate for bigotry. Ignorance has been the chief ally of totalitarianism through the ages, and our age is no exception. Know what is going on in Negro-white relations, and the meaning of current events. You can then properly evaluate the progress and the pressures.

There is no need to be ignorant. Every form of mass media provides some information. Some is factual; some is distorted. Some is adequate; some is woefully inadequate. Many excellent bibliographies exist.

Progress means persistence. Persistence is the key toward freedom and equality. The legal props of discrimination and segregation are failing one by one, but resistance to change is still powerful. Setbacks, hostility, and skepticism are to be expected. Some will not hold you in high esteem when you act on your beliefs. Fortunately you have a cause for which it is worth being persistent, worth the temporary discomfort caused by a noisy opposition. The cause of liberty is a creative and winning cause; nothing but your discouragement and defeat can delay its victory.

You are surrounded by resources. There are a variety of instruments in your community which can help you or which can provide the leverage for action. The city, town, or county in which you live has at least one of the following:

* a United States government agency (including the Post Office) subject to the fair-employment directives of the federal civil services;

* an attorney competent to advise on legal recourse for civil rights enforcement and legal school-desegregation processes;
* a public library with a bibliography of publications documenting the essential unity of the human race;
* a private business or corporation holding federal government contracts which include nondiscriminatory clauses;
* a local branch or chapter of a human relations organization through which you can receive information on the work being carried on. Such organizations can make available to you literature, audiovisual aids, speakers, and consultants;
* a church or synagogue which, by its very presence, symbolizes man's reach toward God and can offer you inward strength and fellowship.

Violations of civil rights should be reported to the United States Department of Justice, while you and others in the community work locally on the problem. In cases of employment discrimination where the federal government is involved as an employer, complaints may be made to the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy. Employment discrimination involving a private employer holding a federal government contract may be referred to the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

"Enemies" can become allies. Values held by our citizens can respond to moral challenge. Those values include:

(1) *a sense of justice and fair play.* The very language used to justify discrimination is distorted to conceal the violation of justice and fair play. Even the bigot feels the need of these qualities in personal and social life.

(2) *personal generosity.* Even the most prejudice-blinded people make generous responses to personal human need.

(3) *the desire to believe that he is good.* The worst outrages are usually committed by persons who have taken steps to "lose" themselves in a mob, so as not to feel personally responsible.

(4) *devotion to democracy.* Love for the ideals upon which our nation is founded runs deep and strong. Given new light on the application of democracy, many who now stand in the way of freedom might become strong in its favor.

People deserve a chance to do the right thing. Do not always expect negative results. Friends of integration unwittingly slow the pace of progress when they deny that others are capable or willing to take the necessary steps. No one should be written off.

Housing and employment provide classic illustrations. "I want to, but my neighbors would never stand for it if I sold my house to a person of a different race." This is a commonplace statement. Yet a University of California study in San Francisco and Oakland showed that most people did not even know the racial background of others in their neighborhood.

"We'd like to do it, but if we did not discriminate in our hiring we would have real trouble from our present employees," is another common reply. The President's Committee on Government Contracts reports that this expressed fear is unjustified; integrated work forces in every part of the country have been created without friction.

Remember that anticipation is more threatening than accomplished fact. Often advance commitment to desegregation is more difficult to secure than acceptance of its actual achievement. Persons who have opposed the concept with vigorous words and even threats have often accommodated themselves to the situation, once desegregation has become a fact. Therefore, opponents of equality also must be viewed by their acts rather than by their words alone. A bigot is sometimes a person of violence and lawlessness; but many a prejudiced person says things out of ignorance, fear, and the belief that such words are expected of him. He has little faith in his fears and less intention of following through with the threats he makes. He, a child of God, can be reached, and we need to be governed in our actions by his greatest potential rather than by his self-expressed weakness.

Law has a place. Government has a vital role to play. When the Supreme Court ruled the segregated public schools unconstitutional, most opponents of integration accepted the decision, although some still try frantically to delay desegregation. Wherever government—federal, state, or local—provides firm leadership, the removal of discrimination proceeds with greater speed, ease, and smoothness. Where agencies of government vacillate or even oppose change, difficulties arise.

The executive arm of government has the primary responsibility for carrying out the law of the land. When it does so, citizen support comes forward. Where such leadership is lacking, men foment violence. When

government gives tacit approval, keeps silent, or looks the other way, events move toward economic and social reprisal, physical intimidation, and violence. It is not the courts or laws that cause the breakdown of law and order. It is the lack of faith in the law by public officials.

In the area of racial justice, the Fourteenth Amendment was violated and ignored for almost one hundred years. Yet without it we would not have progressed to the point which we have now reached. Despite warnings and fears, many states and municipalities have enacted fair-employment-practice laws. The fears have proven false. The laws work. Perhaps as important as anything else, they "take the employer off the hook" by giving him the sanction of community acceptance as he proceeds to do what he knows is right. Good laws light the way for the uncertain and provide support for all who want to do right.

Tension can be used creatively. The struggle to remove injustice will often create tension in your community. It can be used creatively. Such tension is inherent in race-relations situations today because our religious and democratic creeds conflict with our ways of life ever more clearly, and the conflict needs to be resolved. This tension is a healthy sign of life in the individual and national conscience and offers a challenge to change.

Tension plays an important role in the process of change, by bringing issues out into the open. Through the open expression of differences, needed changes will come about and people will be enabled to adjust their ways. A disservice is done to society when tension is glossed over without being allowed to fulfill this purpose.

It is equally harmful to meet tension with violence. Attempts to relieve tension through violence have never succeeded. Whether in individual lives, communities, or in the area of national and international affairs, violence tends to delude people with superficial victories while creating still greater injustices and tension.

Some seek to escape tension by unquestioning acceptance of dogma. This is an escape in conformity and tends to renounce individual responsibility and to stifle personal growth.

Instead of being fearful of tension, you need to offer wise and creative leadership in removing it by resolving the injustices out of which it grows. Only when you abandon the effort to act creatively and imaginatively will the situation deteriorate, violence break out, and progress halt.

Individuals in all parts of the United States accept the challenge to

act creatively in the face of tension and conflict. In communities large and small, North and South, many clergymen feel keenly the relation between their teaching and the actions demanded of them in a time of crisis. They respond to conscience; they speak out and act. In the changing neighborhoods of the North some white families greet new Negro neighbors as they would any other newcomers. In one Southern county teachers have refused to sign a statement concerning organizational affiliations when such a query seemed an abridgement of a fundamental and precious freedom.

These courageous responses may cost the individuals something—sometimes a job, often friends; but they are creative and helpful actions, designed to clarify issues and to put choices plainly before people, the first steps in removing injustice and eventually lessening tension.

AREAS OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS

These guideposts may help the concerned individual move effectively through the many areas of unfinished business in America's race relations. But before the United States can be in fact a land of equal opportunity, problems in the following areas must be dealt with:

(1) public schools and the implementation of the Supreme Court desegregation decision;

(2) employment and the utilization of manpower without regard to race, religion, color, or national origin;

(3) housing and the elimination of segregation and discrimination;

(4) public accommodation and the lowering of barriers of race, religion, and color;

(5) political participation and elimination of restrictions based solely on race and color;

(6) religion and the development of inclusive congregations and organizations;

(7) law and its application to provide all Americans with equal protection and rights.

There are more segregation-produced problems remaining unsolved than we have listed here. There is no need to be overwhelmed by them, however. None but he who will not see can fail to find instances where some or all of these conditions have been faced and resolved on a person-to-person or community level. The nation is not without examples which give hope. As a nation, we have the democratic institutions with which to do the job. As a people, we must find the faith to do what is required of us.

8. A Reaffirmation of Faith

We believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We believe that God "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." And we subscribe to a Quaker faith in "that of God in every man."

Our beliefs have consequences.

If we are of one blood, children of one common Father, brothers in the household of God, then we must be of equal worth in His family, entitled to equal opportunity in the society of men. That "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" we hold to be self-evident.

Moreover, if there is the seed of God in every man, then every man has, by reason of that fact alone, worth and dignity. It follows that no man may, with impunity, discriminate against or exploit another. And if the nature of man is such as we have affirmed, then nothing less than its full recognition, nothing less than the dignity and respect due him simply because he is a man, can ever satisfy him.

Our faith leads us one step further. Like responds to like. If there is in every man a measure of goodness and truth, this quality will respond when it meets its kind. We are called upon, therefore, to love our fellow men, all of them, with all the risks that that implies and all the privileges that it promises.

Our faith is incurably optimistic and unyieldingly realistic. It teaches us that we live in an ordered universe in which the moral law of cause and effect, of means and ends, is as unchangeable as any physical law. Violence corrupts and destroys both the user and the victim; the power of love and nonviolence is creative and redeems both.

In such a faith we look forward with confidence to a new day when man will be measured by what he is and not by his race, creed, color, or nationality. That day can be near if we go forward with energy, faith, and knowledge. It can be very far away if we respond with fear and ignorance. In that day each man will be free to develop to his fullest extent every capacity with which he is endowed; each man will be free to contribute to his fullest capacity for the good of all men. Segregation and second-class citizenship will take their places with slavery as evils of the past. No two men will be alike; but no two will be different in value to society because of race, color, religion, or nationality. Just as we now know that all are hurt by injury to any one, so in that tomorrow all will benefit by the achievement of each. As prejudice feeds on prejudice, so brotherhood will nourish brotherhood.

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